1: Karsten--83
116, 301

Jivaro

Fig. 3.

A Jivaro Indian from the Santiago, wearing a bag of monkey's skin (uyúna) and with the breast and shoulders covered by the kind of ornament called mupish.

1: Karsten--89
116, 301

(1916-18) 1935
(1928-29)

Jivaro

"....both men and women among the Jibaros wear a multitude of ornaments to which they ascribe equally great importance. These ornaments are not merely decorations in the strict sense of the word; they so to speak form a part of the Indian's whole personality, and most of them have a purely magical significance. I shall therefore return to these ornaments in the chapters dealing with the religion of the Indians."

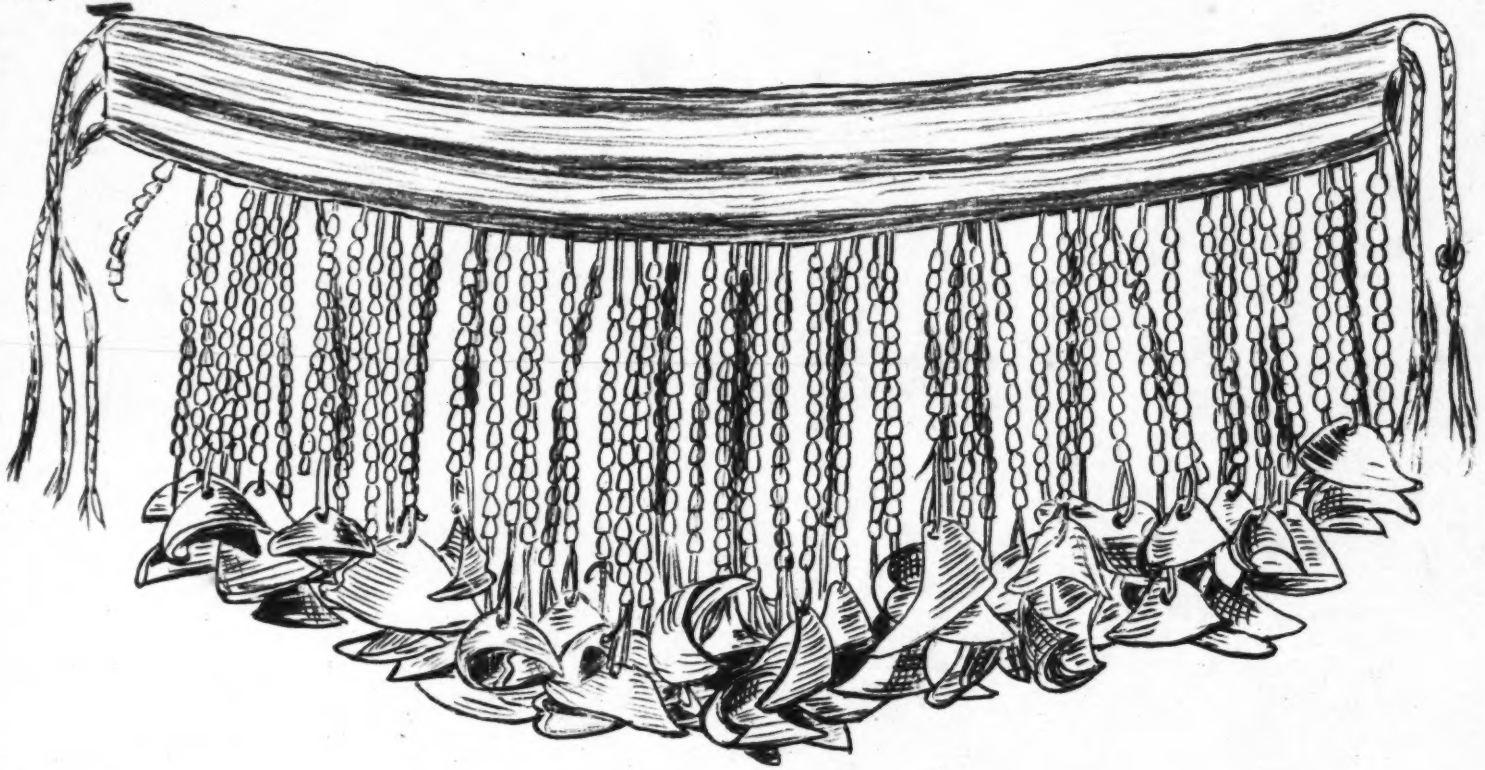

Fig. 3. The rattle cincture of the women, kúngu.

Fig. 1.
The picture of a Jivaro Indian, showing the great head ornament of tucan feathers (tawásа), the necklace of jaguar's teeth (nai), and the facial painting.

"In addition to the ear-tubes, both men and women on festival occasions wear a kind of ear-pendant consisting of brilliant beetle wings, small red and yellow tucan feathers, and human hair. These pendants are called waúo, after the beetle, and are attached to the perforated ear-lobes by means of small wooden pins. [91]

A great variety of necklaces, armlets, bracelets, and other ornaments for the neck, the breast and the back, the arms and the legs, are used both by men and women, especially by the former. The female ornaments are always simpler and less conspicuous, due chiefly to the fact that feathers and plumes are not used by women. The necklaces are so varied that it is impossible to describe them all; they can be studied more closely in the ethnographic museums of Gothenburg and Helsingfors, where my collections from the Jibaros are kept. Generally speaking there are two chief categories of necklace: they consist either of animals' teeth or claws, or of different seeds, or of fruit shells. Collars or necklaces made of animals' teeth have a common name naí, i.e: 'tooth'. There are two kinds of animal the teeth of which are strung into necklaces and worn as ornaments: monkeys and the jaguar. Necklaces consisting of monkeys' teeth are usually very large, hundreds of teeth of different monkeys being used for the purpose. Collars consisting of jaguars' teeth are especially worn by old warriors and they are believed to impart to the wearer something of the strength and ferocity of this wild beast. Necklaces consisting of monkeys' teeth are also generally

worn only by men, since it is considered proper that a man should decorate himself only with the teeth of such animals as he has killed himself. For the same reason ornaments consisting of plumes of birds are limited to the men. It is not unusual that whole stuffed birds are worn as ornaments at the feasts, the most common of these being the great tucan, regarded with superstition both by the Jibaros and the Canelos Indians. The large-beaked tucans, dried and prepared much in the same way as a human tsantsa and the head of the sloth, and worn at the waist at the great dances and festivals of the Canelos Indians, are in fact a sort of trophy to which was originally ascribed a similar magical power as the Jibaros still ascribe to the tsantsa. (See Pl. XIV, 1, 2, and Pl. XV, 1).

Necklaces prepared of seeds or dry fruit shells are very varied and they are worn by both sexes. Some of them have the character of rattles and are therefore used at dances and religious ceremonies. A common kind of necklace consists of a great number of grey seeds called lagrimas de San Pedro (Coix lacrima, of the family Gramineae) strung together, and another equally common is made of a kind of forest bean, red with black spots (Ormosia, belonging to the family Leguminosae). These necklaces are called ētsi. At feasts the men frequently have the back, shoulders, and breast covered with a large ornament consisting of the pepper-like seeds of a tree, strung together in many rows and very [92] fragrant. These ornaments are called payashnya,

and owing to their fragrance and other properties are regarded as a magical protection for the body against disease and witchcraft. A decoction of the same seeds is taken by the Indians as a remedy against fever. Other and smaller bundles composed of the same peppercorns, of vanilla sheaths, certain dry fruit shells, and other things, are not regarded as ornaments or decorations at all, but are simply amulets the object of which is to protect the wearer against disease. These 'medical' ornaments are called mamuía; they are worn only by women who fix them at their breasts.

An ornament of much the same kind, and likewise worn at the great feasts, is called mupish by the Jibaro Indans. It is a sort of necklace composed of a great number of small round black 'buttons' with a hole drilled in the middle and strung closely together. The 'buttons' are made from the twigs of a certain tree of the same name as the necklace, which are cut into small pieces, each about one millimetre thick. Besides this, one or more big snail shells are generally attached to the ornament. Since the twigs have to be cut very evenly and carefully and one single ornament may contain many hundreds of 'buttons', it is much work for the Indian to make a mupish."

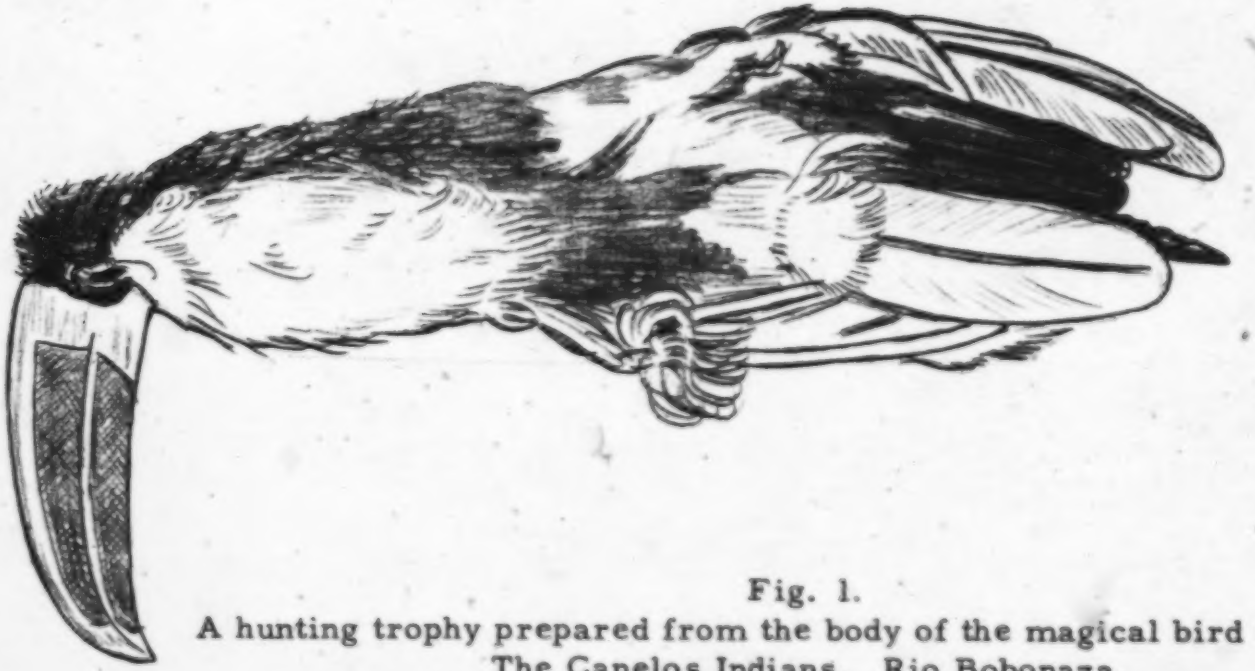

Fig. 1.
A hunting trophy prepared from the body of the magical bird tsucánga.
The Canelos Indians. Rio Bobonaza.

"The most costly ornament of the Jibaros, likewise only worn at the great feasts, is called tayukuńchi. It is a broad back ornament composed solely of the leg-bones of the tayu or oil-bird (Steatornis), attached to the head by means of a broad band over the forehead and hanging down to the loins. The lower border of it is adorned with brilliant beetle wings, human hair, tucan feathers, or small stuffed showy coloured birds of the forest. The beetle wings produce a dull sound when the Indians hop up and down during their dances, so the ornament serves as a sort of rattle. Since the oil-bird, as we have seen, is rare and hundreds of birds are needed for the making of one single tayukuńchi, we can understand that the Indians value this ornament very highly, apart from the magical power which they ascribe to it (Pl. XIII, 1).

Another ornament for the head and the back consists of several long pigtails of brilliant beetle wings, sewn together, and with human hair at the ends. These pigtails are attached to a circular cotton band which at the great feasts is fitted to the crown of the head. The Jibaros call this ornament by the same name as the beetle used for the purpose: wauo (Pl. XIII).

In many of their necklaces and other ornaments the Indians insert small white, red, and blue beads obtained from the whites. They are [93] quite common even among the savage Jibaros, who especially use them for the kind of collar called sháuka. These collars attract special attention by the very tasteful way in which beads of different

colours are combined so as to form certain triangular ornaments typical of the Jibaros (Pl. XXI, 2).

Armlets and bracelets consisting of simple cotton bands tied tightly round the arms and the wrists and called pataka are frequently seen on the Jibaro women. They are hardly looked upon as ornaments, but are worn simply because they are supposed to make the arms stronger for carrying burdens. The men again wear round the wrists bracelets made of the skin of the great iguana lizard and called sunday. These ornaments too are believed to give much strength to the arms.

The personal adornment of the Indians also includes the painting of the body and the face to which extremely great importance is attached. Since however facial paintings have almost exclusively a magical significance I shall deal with them in the part of my work which is devoted to religion and art."

1: Karsten--93 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 301, 177 (1928-29)

"As to the personal ornaments of the CANELOS INDIANS I may add that they are in some respects less characteristic, owing to the fact that they have in part adopted European dress. Thus they nowadays use neither ear and lip-tubes nor ear-pendants. Their necklaces are chiefly made of dry fruit shells and snail's shells as well as of monkey's teeth. But the Canelos Indians are particularly famous for their feather ornaments (tawaśamba), which are more varied than those of the Jibaros and are among the most magnificent found in any South American tribe."

1: Karsten--107 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 301, 531 (1928-29)

"....I shall only include here a few words about a small object which is partly regarded as an ornament and partly serves a practical purpose, namely, the comb, timaśhi. The Jibaro comb is a real piece of art that cannot be described in detail. It is made of a special kind of cane growing on the river bank, called pata, which is carved into a number of tiny sticks. These are connected with one another by means of other parallel transverse sticks which are fastened to the prongs by means of cotton thread, the intermediate space between the latter being embroidered in various triangular and other patterns of the same kind as the Indians put on their face and clay vessels.

The Jibaro comb is of particular interest on account of the magical power ascribed to it, a fact naturally due to its connection with the hair, which according to the Indian view is full of mysterious power. The comb therefore is frequently worn by the men in the long hair as a sort of amulet which protects them against evil influences. The magical significance of the comb is especially shown in the way in which it is used at the great feasts (Pl. XVI, 3)."

"A conspicuous motive underlying the various ways in which the Jibaro Indian arranges his dress and his personal ornaments is the desire to make him 'hard' against evil spirits; in fact, many of the latter have the character of amulets or magical charms. That the very dress has for its object, not only to afford a natural protection for the body against the changes of the weather, but also to enhance the wearer's natural power of resistance against mysterious influences, is obvious from many in-[426]stances mentioned above. In a state of nakedness the Indian feels powerless and has little resistance against supernatural influences. This is the reason why he always makes his dress with such extraordinary care for instance for the religious feasts, for a journey, for a war or hunting expedition, to pay a visit in a strange house, or to receive guests in his own house. His first task on all these occasions is to arrange his long hair, and to divide it into those three pigtails which are customary among the Jibaros, all of them being wound round with coloured bands or basten strips to which great magical power is ascribed. The hair, to the Jibaro Indian, is full of magic power and this is particularly the case with the hair arranged into pigtails. Bound with the basten strip it is made into a magical thing which imparts strength and courage to the Indian and keeps evil influences from him. The Jibaro Indian therefore would never omit, before leaving his house, to make up his hair after this fashion; without his pigtails he is not a real man. A Jibaro who keeps his hair loose looks sickly and weak and is likely to be bewitched by

the evil eyes of his secret enemies. There are, as we know, occasions when he has to observe ceremonial abstinence--for instance after the slaying of an enemy--and when he cannot have his hair made into pigtails but must wear it loose. On these occasions he is bound, as it were, to behave like a 'penitent' and must not challenge the revengeful spirits by his head-dress, as he must not challenge them by his other ornaments or weapons.

Among the articles of clothing which are supposed to give the body strength there is also the girdle of human hair with which the Indian girds up his loins and which is called akáchu. This girdle is not composed of hair obtained from the head of a slain enemy, as has been suggested (1), but it is made of the Indian's own hair which is ceremonially cut on certain occasions. The hair cut at the great feasts is always kept with great care, and when a sufficient quantity of it has been obtained girdles of human hair are made of it."

"1. Rivet, Les Indiens Jibaro, p. 249."

1: Karsten--426-427 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 751, 301 (1928-29)

"Exactly the same may be said of many other ornaments of the Indians, for instance of the big ear-tubes, arúsa, the armlets of iguana skin, súnday, and of other adornments worn on the breast, round the neck, the arms, or the legs. Thus a Jibaro warrior is of opinion that the ear-tubes make him strong and valiant and therefore wears them as big as possible. For their great feasts the Indians especially adorn them-[427]selves in different ways since at the dances and other ceremonies thereby performed they enter into relation with the spirits. Thus both the feather ornaments, tawásа, the magnificent ornament for the back called tayukúnchi, and the large collars of fragrant seeds called payáshnya, used both by the Jibaros and the Canelos Indians, are in fact a sort of magical charms and are believed to give their wearers power of resistance against the spirits. To illustrate this fact I may mention that at one of the most important ceremonies of the victory feast, the 'washing of the tsantsa', the priestess, when she has to officiate, wears both a feather crown on her head and the necklace called múpish, which are put on her by the priest before the ceremony begins. Normally the women never wear feather crowns, nor the necklace múpish. The small bunches of dry fruit shells, animals' teeth and claws, fragrant seeds and herbs which are worn at the breast by the Jibaro women and called mamúta, have exclusively a medical and magical significance: they are believed to protect the wearer against catarrhs and other illnesses. Such charms are also frequently hung round the neck or

at the breast of small children for the same purpose. Collars of jaguar's teeth, worn especially by warriors and medicine-men, are--like the ear-tubes, the pigtails, etc. --supposed to impart strength and courage to the wearer."

2:Stirling--53 [2] (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 714, 726, 391

"While the curaka is preparing for his session with the natima the warriors all paint their bodies black with sua. Sua is also placed in the hair, and the hair is carefully washed and combed. All of the finest hair decorations and ear ornaments are put on so that in the event their head is taken during the battle they will have nothing about which to be embarrassed. Near midnight a dance begins in which all the warriors take part. The dancers line up facing each other in two lines of equal length. This is a warlike dance which serves the purpose of stirring the fighters into a frenzy and builds up their morale for the impending struggle. With appropriate gestures they shout and make threats against the enemy and statements calculated to inspire themselves with confidence, such as: 'Tomorrow we are going to war! Tomorrow we will kill! In this manner will I kill him! Tomorrow we make tsantsas!' During the dancing the curaka plays on the big telegraph drum, being the only person permitted to play it at this time."

2: Stirling--94 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 301, 534

"The snail-shell belts (pl. 10) and leg ornaments worn by the women at dances might be classed as musical instruments, as the jingling sound they produce marks the cadence of the dance."

2: Stirling--99[3] (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 301

"The men wear in their hair rather elaborately made combs, called temashi, carved from narrow slivers of palm wood lashed together at the base with an ornate cotton weave. These combs hold the hair in place when wrapped about the crown of the head (pls. 5, d; 7, b).

The men and women both pierce the lobes of the ears through which bamboo tubes are thrust (pl. 5). These ear tubes, or jarusa, are usually decorated with tufts of red and yellow toucan feathers and white down. Sometimes feather tufts are tied directly to the lobe of the ear.

Girls when still very young have the lower lip pierced and through the opening formed at this time the women wear a small cane lip plug (pl. 9, a)."

2: Stirling--102 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 301, 562

"Numerous types of collars, necklaces, and body ornaments, consisting of seeds, shells, teeth, bird bones, and at present beads and buttons, are worn. One conspicuous ornament worn somewhat after the fashion of a Sam Brown belt consists of numerous strings of small black seeds held together at intervals by transverse cotton strings worn in such fashion that it crosses both shoulders and encircles the waist. It requires almost a year of work to manufacture one of these ornaments which the Jivaros call 'nupish.' It is worn at the big fiestas and occasionally when a Jivaro wants to make an impression on a visit (pl. 6, a). Necklaces consisting of many strands of this same seed are also worn, as are similar necklaces of glass beads (pls. 4, b, c; 5, a, c). Collars woven of chambira fiber or made of bark completely covered with shells or buttons are a favorite ornament of the men (pl. 5, b). Another elaborate ornament worn by the men is the 'tayocunchi.' This is an elaborate back ornament made from hundreds of femurs of the tayo bird, which is found only in certain caves in the Jivaro country. The possession of such an ornament marks the owner as a brave man, as it requires courage to enter the caves which are the dwelling places of jaguars (or jaguar spirits) in order to obtain the birds. These ornaments are further embellished by the addition of bright-colored feathers and beetle wings. The most elaborate type of ear ornament consists of long hangings of iridescent green beetle wings which depend over the shoulders and terminate in tufts of red and yellow toucan feathers. These are called 'kuishi' (pl. 15, a)."

2: Stirling--102 [2] (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 301, 415, 484

"When the Jivaro is traveling he carries his feather ornaments neatly rolled and packed in tubes of bamboo. These tubes, together with other ornaments, hair combs, ear tubes, achiote paint and other accessories, are carried in a rectangular bag with a flap which is either woven of chambira fiber and suspended by a strap over one shoulder or else is made of monkey skin with the fur attached and suspended in the same manner (pl. 13)."

2: Stirling--102 [3] (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 301, 562

"While the women do not wear as elaborate ornaments as the men, they are fond of bead or seed necklaces or collars. A characteristic ornament of the women is the dance girdle, made by attaching to a cotton tape numerous triangular segments cut from the shells of the giant land snail which jingle like sleigh bells as the wearer walks or dances. This girdle is called 'unda acacho' (pl. 10)."

4: Up de Graff--193 -194 (1897) 1923 Jivaro
116, 152, 301, 555

"They are singularly free from the love of personal adornment which is a characteristic of nearly all savage and semi-savage people. Indeed there is only one orna[194]-ment which they wear, a small tuft of toucan or stork feathers fastened to the lobe of the ear. Furthermore these are worn but infrequently, that is to say for battle or on the occasion of great festivals; finally, the wearing of these feathers is a sure sign of the owner's prowess in the hunt, for to kill either bird with their only means of bringing down game, the blow-gun, is proof of great skill and strength; the toucan always lives among the topmost branches of tall trees and the stork is equally shy; we could never approach within 500 yards of the latter."

9: Bennett--660 [3] (no date) 1933 Jivaro
116, 301

"Aside from the offensive weapons, the collection [KS: donated by Harry W. Smith to the American Museum] contains some ornaments. There are two sets of ear plugs in the shape of six-inch cylinders of bamboo, decorated by incision at one end. These are pushed through a slit in the lobe of the ears and project forward along the cheeks. Another type of ear ornament is represented by the beetle wing ear pendants. There is also a paint gourd with a two-pronged applicator with which the Jivaro Indian man improves his beauty with parallel stripes of red ochre."

12: Rivet--363 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 301

As an ornament, in ordinary times, he only wears tubes of bamboo or jarusa, which are stuck into the lobes of the ears. I possess one of them which measures as much as 25 cent. in length and 16 millim. in diameter and at their extremities, they have some coarse black designs (fig. 5) made with a bad knife. Sometimes the Jíbaros make these designs by burning the wood.

It is into the ends of these bamboos that the men generally stick their needles.

12: Rivet--363-365 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 292, 301

The festive clothing of the Jíbaro is as complicated as the daily costume is simple. I have been able to procure for myself the complete ceremonial ornaments of a chief called Yumala, the names and exact descriptions of which follow.

The crows are three in number.

Tauas or taguaza (fig. 7-11) a flat circlet, somewhat like [365] the brim of a hat without a crown. The circlet is formed by a series of concentric circles made of vegetable fibers joined together by cotton threads. A band of feathers adorns the circumference, the upper side is covered with the plumage of birds (callistes [JP: humming-birds] of various kinds), and from the lower side hang small ornaments made of feathers, of various seeds and of the eletra of coleoptera (Euchroma gigantea, Linnaeus).

Tendema (fig. 8-6). Crown of cylindrical form, 6 cent. high, formed of a fabric of hard and resistant fibres covered on the outside with breasts and stomachs of Rhamphastides [JP: toucans] in red, white and yellow feathers. Diameter: 19 cent.

There is also a third kind of crown made of a fine, furry monkey-skin.

12: Rivet--365 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 292, 301

Scoanga (fig. 7-9). A small band of cotton, 1 1/2 cent. wide and 46 cent. long, having at its extremities a cluster of brilliant feathers and four very long tassels of hair; it is twisted around the back plait in such a manner that the feathers form a kind of pompon at the base of the plait.

Tayucunchi (tayo: kind of bird, cunchi: bone) (fig. 7-10). A magnificent ornament 1[m] 15 long and 18 cent. wide, composed essentially of a fabric made from the femurs of a bird called tayo (Nyctidromus?) juxtaposed in transverse rows. On the specimen that I possess I have counted 240 femurs aligned in 7 bands placed one above the other; 140 [JP: sic] birds have therefore been employed in the making. The bones are strung on cotton threads. Each row is separated from the neighboring one by a narrower row of small brownish seeds. On this unusual woof of ivory whiteness callistes [translation: humming-birds] in iridescent colors are placed, while from the lower extremity hang eleven superb toucan feathers and some elytra of Euchroma. This elegant ornament is worn on the back, suspended from the head by a little band of cotton which encircles it and which is itself covered laterally with skins of Rhamphastides and bears in front, at the place corresponding to the forehead, a beautiful bird crest with bluish black reflections.

12: Rivet--365-367 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 301

The EAR PENDANTS are of various types, but all are worn suspended from the tubes of bamboo which pass through the lobes. These tubes have a small orifice in their anterior third, into which they put a slender piece of wood to which is affixed in T shape the thread which sustains the ornament. Once inserted, this piece [367] of wood is placed transversely against the orifice and it cannot come out again.

Kuishi (fig. 7-5-6). Ear pendants made from electra of Euchroma gigantea and Mallaspis antennatus, pierced at their bases and attached at different levels on a cotton thread. It measures about 36 cent. long and terminates on the bottom with a little pompon of brilliant plumes and sometimes with a tassel of human hair.

Another kind of ear pendant is ornamented with the taguaza. This is a stem 28 cent. long, around which, with the aid of a type of pitch, feathers are placed with adroit imbrication, black, red, yellow, etc., in succession (fig. 7-12-13). Like the kuishi, this ornament is terminated by a little tuft of hair. It is carefully kept in a tube of bamboo (fig. 7-14-15).

The NECKLACES are extremely varied.

Sué (fig. 7-2-3). Neck orament formed of mammal teeth, particularly of monkeys, the roots of which have been perforated in order to permit the passage of the thread.

Tumbumbe (fig. 7-7). Big string of beads 2 meters long, formed of white seeds called lagrimas de San Pedro (Coix lacryma, Gramineae) alternating with the latter alone (fig. 8-2). This necklace has the form of a figure 8, the same as almost all the necklaces of the Jíbaros. Fig. 9 explains the reason for this and shows the manner in which the Indians place these ornaments on the breast and the back.

Mulupishi (fig. 8-5). Similar to the preceding but even more complicated, since, instead of being composed of a single row of seeds, it is formed of a very great number of strings in juxtaposition, joined at the same place by many transverse cotton threads. On one of my specimens I have counted 114 strings, each of shich [368] measures 1^{m} 25 long. and the little blackish seeds which make them up are hardly as big as grains of millet. This ornament is worn like the tumbumbe and once in place, covers the front of the breast and the shoulders somewhat in the manner of a vest.

There are still other kinds of necklaces: one is formed of ratting Menispermaceae seeds attached like little bells to a cord (fig. 8-3), another has pieces of mother-of-pearl shells cut as the figure indicates (fig. 7-4), a third is made up of the seeds of Crysophyllum caimito (Sapotaceae), of Menispermaceae, and of Ormosia (?), and small pendants made of black seeds analagous to those of the mulupishi and terminated by

Unionidae shells (fig. 8-4). A last necklace presents successive rows of monkey teeth, regularly separated by seeds of Phasioleae (Leguminosae) and Ormosia (?), little cocoanuts (Cocoineae), and some pieces of fern rachides (fig. 8-1).

13: Rivet--249-250 (no date) 1908 Jívaro
116, 727, 293, 301

The girdles made with the human hair from the tsantsas seem to play a role very similar to the tsantsas themselves. They serve as ornaments only in feasts and on war expeditions. A Jíbaro man will never consent to lend this object, which is the visible proof of the number of his exploits, and upon his death, his relatives encircle [250] his body with it. (1) In case the deceased does not have a tsantsa to leave to his sons, the girdle is preserved by them as a souvenir of his valor (2).

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1. Colini. Osservazion etnografiche sui Givari, op. cit., page 30; Collezione etnografica degli indigeni dell' alto Amazzoni, op. cit., page 35.--Simson, op. cit., page 387. Osculati, op. cit., note on page 37.

2. Pigorini. Di una collezione etnologica della Repubblica dell' Equatore, op. cit., page 102.

18: Hermessen--440 [3] (No date) 1917 Jivaro
116, 301

"The men wore their hair, which was long, black, and straight, in a fantastic mode, with two locks, twisted like pigtails and bound with cotton or fiber, depending from the forehead just in front of the ears; while about the tops of their heads were stuck tufts of bright-colored birds' feathers and small wooden combs. In another matter of decoration they follow a custom common to several tribes of the Upper Amazon basin: (14) the lobes of their ears were pierced, and in them were inserted sticks of bamboo, about half an inch thick and about eight inches long, the anterior ends of which, in some cases, had feathers fixed in them. Their faces were hideously smeared all over with anatto, a brick-red pigment obtained from the seeds of the plant Bixa orellana. (15) They had no beards, but only a few hairs on the upper lip. As I afterward learned, depilation is generally practiced by the Jîbaros. (16)"

"14. Cf. A. Hamilton Rice, op. cit., p. 409; Thomas Whiffen: The North-west Amazons, London, 1915, p. 85; and W. E. Hardenburg: The Putumayo, The Devil's Paradise, London, 1912.

15. H. A. Alford Nicholls: Tropical Agriculture, London, 1906, p. 244. This plant is figured in Plate 42 of Captain Whiffen's book quoted above.

16. Whiffen, op. cit., pp. 273, 282."

25: Vigna--4)
116, 301

(no date) 1945

Jivaro

The Jibaro wears necklaces of variously colored seeds or glass beads. The lobes of the ears are pierced and small reeds are inserted; from these hang ornaments made of birds' feathers or wings of Coleoptera. They hang small tassels made with feathers from the Tzucanga (Toucan) or from the mountain cock, from the braid at the nape or lock of hair bound with a band of bright colors. In their ceremonies they wear a precious ornament called "Tayu-ucunchi" which is made entirely of hundreds of femurs of Tayu birds; or they bind the thorax with an ornament made of thousands of seeds.

26: Brüning--58-59 (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 301

The only special ornament which I noticed the women were wearing was an additional belt. [59] The belt in my collection has a length of 154 cm. and a width of 3.5 cm. It has a dirty light brown color with black lines, and it was woven by the Indians themselves. The ends of the warp protrude 4 cm., and they are braided into thin plaits. At each end, at the lower edge, there are specially prepared pieces of shell which, when clanging together, produce the sound of our glass prisms. At the extreme ends there are small bundles of tukan feathers and, as a specialty, a small tassel of red sewing yarn, and between the shell pieces the points of the tukan beaks as well as the shells of some fruit. With the exception of the feathers all objects are strung on long thin glass pearl-threads.

26: Brüning--59-60 (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 301, 237, 777

The Indians, while wearing very simple clothes, have a great variety of ornaments, especially the men. In contrast to [60] the cultural life of other countries, it is the Indian male that devotes more time to the adornment of his exterior than the Indian woman. The woman does not have the time for it: she is the working part. I believe that I may divide the ornaments into two categories: the ornaments used in everyday life, and ornaments used in connection with festive occasions only.

Into the first category we may place the bracelets made of the skin of the iguana lizard. The natives cut the skin crosswise so that they obtain rings that are closed and about two centimeters wide. When wetted the skin may be stretched and easily slipped over the hand. Upon drying the bracelet shrinks and cannot slip off the arm. Men and women wear several of these bracelets around the wrist. Even the rubber collectors who live among the Indians wear these bracelets. These bracelets are said to prevent the wearer from becoming tired while working.

26: Brüning--60 (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 301

The necklace (poékta), is worn by men and women alike, (also belongs in this category) Nowadays such a necklace almost generally consists of a band which is approximately 3-4 cm. wide. This band is in straight cross-strips studded with small white porcelain buttons of European make. It embraces the neck tightly, in the manner in which the sayuelo is worn by the catholic priests of the region. Animal teeth, seed kernels, small nuts and polished shell pieces are worn dangling from the front of the lower edge. These shell pieces are of some value to the Indians, and they are said to occur at the mouth of the Pongo de Uta. On my return trip I looked for these shells, but I was unable to get hold of them. This does not imply that they do not occur there. My stay was too short, and there was no time for closer investigation. Moreover, it is quite possible that they occur only in certain seasons of the year.

26: Brüning --60-61 (1902) 1928 Jívaro

116. 301

In Illustration number 6 you will find four necklaces of my collection. Number 1 has sixteen strings with small, black, flat, and crosswise perforated seeds. Thirteen of these strings are, except for the ends, unconnected, while the three lowermost strings are interconnected by means of pendants. These pendants consist chiefly of seven groups of 4 - 5 connected hard, nutbrown fruit-shells (of the nut-type). Five of these groups hang on short strings which carry small red glass-pearls. [61] In one group three strings have small blue glass-pearls, while two have small white glass-pearls. The strings of the seventh group have only small white glass-pearls. Between these groups of fruit shells there are three ground pieces of shell, likewise on a string carrying glass-pearls. The string is drawn through a hole in the shell so that the latter can freely pendulate. The ends of this string are attached to the three lowermost strings.

26: Brüning--61 (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 301

Necklace number two. It consists of eight strings on which black seeds are strung. The seeds seem to be the same as in no. 1, but they are a little larger and better formed. These eight strings are connected by cross-strings, spaced about two centimeters from each other. At each cross-connection hangs a pendant. Six of these pendants are a sort of nut, just like in no. 1., and arranged in groups of two or three. The small strings to which they are attached are strung with the same seeds as the main strings. The four other pendants--three of which containing four little strings each, while one has only three strings--consist of larger black seeds, the lowermost being somewhat larger than the upper ones.

26: Brüning--61 [2] (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 301

Necklace number three. Four strings with larger black seeds. The strings are loose except for the middle where they are connected by the pendants. These pendants consist of polished shell pieces, two of them, each one different. The larger shell is completely flat. Another pendant is a large blue faceted glass-pearl which hangs on two strings on which small red glass-pearls are strung. The fourth pendant is a small bundle of tree bark. The bark had been folded and stitched together with thread at the sides. This bundle may contain a talisman.

Necklace number four. A double string holding 34 groups of pendants, each one consisting of paired nutbrown fruit-shells. The two main strings as well as the short strings of the pendants are strung with light pink glass pearls.

All of these necklaces do not surround the entire neck. They are tied together in the back with a simple thin thread.

26: Brüning--61 [3] (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 301

Women wear in addition many pearl necklaces which hang down in front of the breasts in larger or smaller windings. Glass pearls are a much-desired article of the barter trade. I have seen mostly blue and white ones. Necklaces of this type must be registered in the second category, since they are extraordinary pieces of ornamentation and not worn everyday. The women regularly wear a bundle of various seeds and nutshells. But this bundle does not count as an ornament since it is not worn openly. I was given the following names for the various seeds: matot, pangána, dope, tšangínake, tšitšimjits, sáunak, and sikút. Unfortunately, I did not have these objects when I would have had a chance to have them identified. Later, when I received such a bundle for my collection, I had left the Indians and could not ask them anymore. I know, however, that sikút means vanilla. Judging by the smell I should say that espingo must have been part of the bundle, at least in my specimen. Tied to the bundle was also a comb (timúš). The entire bundle is fastened to a long thin string which at the other end is fastened to the shoulder connection of the dress. The bundle is worn under the dress on the bare body between the breasts.

26: Brüning--61-62 (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 301

An ear decoration for both sexes may be regarded as another everyday ornament. It consists of small bundle of yellow and orange-red feathers of the tukan. On top of this small feather bundle is a small cross-piece which is put through the string-loop in the ear-lobe. The loop is a permanent fixture of the perforated lobe.

On the left bank of the Marañón River, in Numpatcai, I have seen two old men with pieces of bamboo (kahíst) [62] in the earlobes. These were pieces of thin bamboo (diameter abt. 1 cm.), 5 cm. in length, which they had stuck through the lobes. The whites there told me that this was a feature that distinguished the Antipa Indians from the Aguaruna, but which formerly had been worn by all members of the tribe.

The Aguaruna Indians permanently sport a small loop in the perforated lobe. This loop is designed for various pieces of ornaments. [63] Usually, it is nothing but a small bundle of tukan feathers, that are glued together with some resin. But for festive gala occasions the Indians wear long strands of beetle wings, the wings coming from two types of beetles. This ear decoration is called akite. In the following I shall describe some of these decorations.

Fig. a. This ear decoration is fastened by means of a small perforated bone. Its upper part consists of two strings strung with tiny glass-pearls. To this are appended two strands of greenish-iridescent beetle wings--the beetle being a sort of carabid ? -. Each strand is finished off with a bundle of red and yellow tukan feathers. On top, where the strands begin, two bundles of these feathers and one tuft of hair are seen dangling. The whole has a length of 30 cm, but is of relatively light weight. This ear decoration has a special name (after the beetle wings): akite-tóika.

Fig. b is almost identical with the preceding one, but the tuft of hair and the glass pearls are missing. The fastener is not of bone, but consists of two bamboo splinters glued together with resin. Entire length: 27 cm.

Fig. c has no fastener and no feather bundle. On top it has instead a piece of tukan skin with its feathers. The strings have an elongation with which the decoration is fastened to the ears. Entire length 35 cm.

Fig. d. Each strand is decorated with the wings of certain beetles. One beetle type is called tóika (the same whose wings are used in a - c), the other is called wáwa, which seems to be a buprestid and occurs rather rarely as a decorative element. This ear decoration has on top small blue glass pearls and a bone splinter as a fastener. The entire length is 13 cm. It has a special name: akite wáwa.

The warrior on the right on Illustration number 4 wears long ear decorations such as have just been described.

Cheap European earrings, such as we had brought along for barter purposes, did not please the Indians at all.

One of their main decorations is called dópiš. It consists of a great number of strings, arranged side by side and strung with seeds. They are worn in pairs and thrown over the shoulders so that they cross on the chest and on the back, reaching down to the hips. Three warriors on Illustration number 4 are wearing this kind of decoration.

One specimen consists of 112 double rows, arranged side by side. The whole seems to be one single string, which, later on, was arranged side by side. The part which touches the shoulder is kept together by means of three crosswise-plaited strings. In the middle there are short strings, strung with small colored glass-pearls and with various seed-kernels at the end. If laid side by side, these 112 strings extend to a width of 37 cm. The length, counted from the shoulders to the hips, is 65 cm. The little black seeds (diameter approximately 3 mm.) are called dúšip (e). Over these wide chains, other, smaller ones, are worn, as you can see on Illustration 4. One such specimen consists of 6 double rows of a white and hard berry (yusána[gi]), each one having a diameter of about 8 mm. These six rows are also connected by three cross-strings where they touch the shoulder. Another specimen consists of double rows which are alternately strung with four of these white berries and one red bean-like fruit. The length of the string from the shoulder to the hip is likewise 65 cm.

A sort of belt which the Aguaruna Indians wear around the hips, consists of braided human [64] hair. The rubber collectors told me that this is the hair of their defeated enemies. But when I asked the Indians directly, they denied this and said that it was

their own hair. I think however, that the rubber collectors were right in this instance. The two warriors to the right are wearing such belts.

28: Tessman--343-344 (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 301, 291

The ornamental belts are often quite painstakingly made. Some of them are made out of twisted fur strips or out of a woven band (width: 4 cm.) to which are attached pearl strings with triangular pieces of shell from the Achatina snail. There is also a belt made of human hair which projects either only in one direction or in two directions. And there are [344] many other kinds of belts... such as wide ones made of fruit shells, seeds and pieces of vanilla.

28; Teesman--344-347
116, 292, 301, 463, 287

(No date) 1930

Jivaro-1

"There are no hats, but they have a head decoration (táwas) made of fur of feathers. One of the chief skills of the men is the art of arranging feather ornaments and ornaments made of other materials. The head ornaments are the most important ones. There is a great variety of such ornaments and they serve a variety of functions, some being used for feasts others for warlike expeditions. A festive head ornament is the wide band made of yellow and red toucan feathers. These feathers are used also on other decorations. The toucan band is simply placed around the forehead and tied in the back. Most of the head ornaments are war decorations. There are headbands (or, rather, circlets) and caps which cover the entire head. There are circlets that are open at the crown of the head, a fact which, on account of the trappings, is not apparent until one analyzes the ornament. One of the circlets is especially peculiar: it consists of liana stripe that are concentrically arranged but leaving space between them. They are placed around the head like the brim of a crownless hat or like a 'halo'. On the outside the circlets are decorated and therefore widened by means of feathers or seeds (for instance Chrysophyllum). I call head crowns head decorations that are placed on the head like a crown. They consist of fur stripe which stay stiff by themselves; other ornaments, such as bird skins, are frequently attached. In most instances they use the fur of monkeys or the tiger cat. But the essential part of this head ornament is a broad ring (or circlet) which

is often rather crudely plaited; on the outside it is covered with strips of fur or bird skin, sometimes with actual bird wings, which follow closely the shape of the circlet or project upward at the sides. In many instances bird skins dangle from the edges. I thought that many of these head ornaments were funny-looking, [347] reminding me very much of the tastelessly trimmed up ladies' hats of a bygone fashion era... The funny impression is heightened by the feminine facial features and the feminine hairdo of the Indians. I also saw fur caps, which were nothing but skins that were pulled over the head. The head of the animal was in front; it was slightly stuffed, and the eyes of the animal were replaced with red Erythrina fruits (huairuru L.). Bird skins, too, were prepared in this manner. The trumpeter bird, for instance. In the case of other fur caps the fur had been pulled over a plaited ring or over a base plaited in hexagonal meshes. It surprized me that the natives used monkey fur almost exclusively. I noticed the use of the fur of the Pithecia (tocón L.), of the Saimiri and of the nocturnal monkey."

Chest ornaments are just as numerous as the head ornaments. The chest ornament is usually composed of many strands, which as a rule are stitched together at one point only, so that it can be easily pulled apart into its four components. This ornament is worn in such a fashion that the strands cross on the back, while the point where they are stitched together is placed in front. (See Plate 65, upper right.) But they also wear it the other way round. The following are the materials used for these chest decorations: fruit shells or seeds (often of Coix lacryma and of Erythrina), huairuro L., the latter frequently alternating with the shiny pieces of a yellow reed and with small feathers and very often decorated with the whole skins of the most colorful birds. They also use strands (in one instance 46 of them) of braided hair.

28: Tessman--347 [2] (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 301

The Chiwaros wear plenty of necklaces. There are necklaces of pearl interspersed with teeth, talons, feathers, seeds and mother-of-pearl pieces. They have other necklaces which consist of woven bands to which are attached by means of pearl strings half fruit-shells from which a feather emerges.

A special type of ornament are the pendants which are fastened to the breastcloth. In most cases it is a cross formed by pearl strings. At each one of the four corners there are seed-shells dangling on smaller strings of pearls. These seed-shells often rattle; often they have a fragrant aroma.

All of these ornaments are worn chiefly by the men. Only the necklaces are often worn by the women, and so are the pendants on their chestcloth.

28: Tessman--347-348 (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 301

Men wear woven rings as bracelets and anklets. Married women wear a woven ring on each upper arm. The anklets are generally woven very simply and without pattern. They are left in their natural whitish color. According to Karsten (Contributions etc., p. 18) they are called patáki. They have very beautiful bracelets [348] with woven patterns and small pendants on strings of pearls or seeds. For instance, the above mentioned triangular pieces of snail shell. The natives also wear rings made of teju skin. These rings are called iwana (i. e., teju). The iwana are worn by both sexes. They have no metal rings.

The earlobes of both sexes are perforated. In the hole they wear a rather long piece of wood (Chiwaro-Makas) or a roll of grass-blades, in many cases decorated with etched patterns. In one case an Indian kept his sewing needles in the roll. Aside from sticks they wear little sticks [AN: German meaning not clear at all.] to which is attached a tuft of yellow and red turako feathers. For festive occasions they wear an ear decoration made of the wing-cases of the buprestid or of the even more beautiful ones of the Rutilide Chrysophora chrysochlora Latr. These ear ornaments are always tied to the roll in the earlobe. They consist of two or three strands of wing-cases and are decorated at the end with a tuft of yellow and red toucan feathers or of white downs. There is no nose perforation. Some women have a perforated lower lip, and through this hole is placed a very thin and short blade of grass.

/331 cont./

extends from the chest to about the knees, is held by a band around the hips, but is measured so closely and fits so tightly that at every step the leg stands out at the side fold. /33C/ These garments, if simple pieces of cloth may be called such, are made by the Jivaros from home-grown cotton and are all dyed the same dark-brown. The fabric is very firm and tight, the value of a piece is great, since it takes a women a long time to make one with the primitive weaving apparatus. The very vain Indians make up for the lack of clothing by painting themselves. The face is decorated with diagonal lines, often with indentations, in red and black colors, chest and lower body with black designs, usually rectangles or simple lines. Occasionally one finds a band provided with continuous decorations and extending diagonally across the chest, the making of which, seemingly laborious, is done in the simplest manner. For it one uses a wooden cylinder two and a half inches long and half an inch thick, on which the design is deeply carved. The depressions are filled with a dye mixed with bird fat, and the cylinder is then rolled over the naked body, under firm pressure with the hand. The designs on the body, the execution of which requires a longer time, are put on with a plant juice which gradually becomes black; the color lasts for eight to ten days and resists even energetic attempts to wash it off. On the other hand, the red lines must be renewed constantly, and for this purpose every Indian carries with him a small box with dye and the proper brushes in a nicely plaited bag. In the same bag a comb elegantly put together out of long spines and a small piece of mirror are never lacking. Mirrors, along with iron implements, are the most valuable property. If one presents an Indian with a mirror, no matter how small, he will immediately break it in order to distribute the pieces among his wives or give them to his acquaintances. Men as well as women usually wear one or more little rods of cane in the pierced ear-lobes, and the women, moreover, wear under the lower lip, in an opening which looks like a needle hole, a toothpick-like peg (tucun) projecting horizontally, for which sewing needles are preferably used.

/XX cont./

● 801 preferably used. In addition there are neck and arm bands, in
[814 part made with great effort out of plant seeds, out of pieces of
231] shell, each of which must be bored separately, in part out of
European porcelain beads; even the men do not scorn this orna-
mentation completely.

142 Armed and proud, the Ilvaro moves in the consciousness
157 of his freedom. The naked, well-proportioned forms of the
[939] men are handsome; the women, on the other hand, are small
and heavy-set, but good-natured and at most seductive in their
earliest youth, but with advancing age terribly ugly, and all the
142 more so as they are then less modest and expose their bodies,
disfigured by hard labor, more to the eye. The color of the well-
[109] tanned skin is a light red-brown for all, as is peculiar to the
Indians of the highlands. This difference is often ascribed to
mixture with the women abducted during the destruction of the
Spanish cities, /333/ but the dirtiness of the Quechua Indians
[157] may play a not unimportant role in this. The facial expression
is usually good-natured and intelligent. The wives were always
395 treated with kindness, their advice sought in almost all negotia-
593 tions, and the children are allowed to do what they please. I
say wives, for seldom does a Ilvaro connect himself with one
partner for life; he has two, three, or four and cannot under-
stand at all that his polygamy is unlawful, since he takes care of
his wives and children, whereas the monotonic-Christian preachers
595 all too gladly shun these duties. Sometimes several women
with their children live in one and the same house, sometimes
the lord and master has several houses far from one another and
[581] has his wife or wives in each of them. The bond of marriage
[641] is kept holy; in the case of adultery the husband has the right
to kill his wife. The institution of polygyny, no matter how
reprehensible it may be from our standpoint, surely is justified
181 under the conditions that we find among the Ilvaros. In the case
595 of a wandering, warlike people which frequently changes resi-
628 dence and in which the individual tribes, indeed, even the
648 individual families, live in war and conflict, the men must
always be ready to defend his person and his property, he must

practice the use of weapons, live for battle and the hunt.

/14 cont./

right hand, held close to the tip. By a slight, regular movement of the right arm the long shaft, held horizontally, /335/ is set to swinging vertically in order to give the weapon steadiness and force when it is suddenly thrust forward. Shield pressed to shield, they fight man to man amidst loud war cries; each tries to protect himself; each tries to discover a weakness of the opponent, without overly exposing himself to the stones thrown by the women and children. If a lance thrust hits its mark and the enemy is wounded and turns to flight, the shield is thrown away, for now it is a matter of getting the head. For this reason the men wear long hair. The courageous warrior offers his conqueror the possibility of grabbing him by the hair. Long hair is therefore considered the mark of the warrior, of the free man; women, children, and the few war captives must cut their hair. If a head is captured, it is brought in triumph to the house, where the trophy undergoes proper preparation. This is an important religious ceremony. The skin of the head is taken off; eyes and mouth are sewed up; hot stones are put in the sack of skin thus obtained, by means of which the skin dries out and shrinks; smaller and smaller hot stones are used, until the head, completely dried, is reduced to the size of a fist. Such preparation, which the happy possessor must perform himself, is said to take eight days. During this entire time he may use his hands for no other work and he must be fed like a child.

Once the trophy is ready, a great festival is arranged, for which a special festival hall is erected; all the friends and acquaintances help with the construction and bring hospitality gifts. The principal thing is the preparation of the intoxicating drink from the yuca root in order to spend days in senseless drunkenness. The yuca is chewed by the women and left in large containers to ferment. The drink thus obtained has a pleasant taste at first, between almond milk and lemonade, but becomes strong and intoxicating with increasing fermentation.

Friends from far and near gather for the festival, adorned with bright feathers, with long earrings fashioned out of the shiny wing coverings of large beetles, with prettily plaited hats or,

335 cont.

better, forehead bands (tendemas), with neck and arm bands made of the teeth of monkeys and wild animals. The women wear richly decorated bindings around their hips, on the fringes of which are fastened rattles and clappers so that a loud noise is produced during the stamping dances. A weapons dance is performed, during which all the available zanzas, this is the name of the trophy heads, are paraded in triumph. The enthusiasm aroused by dancing, music, and drink is said to reach such a pitch that the weapons dance frequently ends in bloody seriousness.

When the supplies are gone and the intoxication slept off, the house built for the festival is deserted and left to decay -- unless after some time another family moves in and undertakes the repairs.

336 A house must be deserted after a death, just as after such a festival. In order to be relieved of the inconvenience of moving and probably also out of superstitious fear of the dying, hopelessly ill people are ruthlessly exposed in the forest. A small hut of branches is built for them, some food is put nearby, and they are left to their fate.

If a war expedition is to be undertaken or if an important decision is to be made, the higher powers are called upon, and their suggestions are decisive. The Jivaro retires to the solitude of the forest, intoxicates himself on an infusion of poisonous lianas, and then considers the outcome of his deep dreams as a command of the gods. For this ceremony a prominent point is chosen, from which one looks down on the Sangay, which seems to play an important role in the religious beliefs of these Indians. And how could this surprise anyone, given the terribly beautiful spectacle presented by the black, barren, and open cone set upon the highest ridges. The volcano, 5,323 meters high, is continuously active, like Stromboli. Thick black clouds of ashes are spewed out with a thunder-like noise, accompanied at night by the most magnificent sheets of fire. From the highest peak to the forest region a brilliantly glowing strip of fire moves down the slope, rolling along like a stream of molten metal. Matter

34:Harner E-4.5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

boys perform most of the tasks of their
865 father, including participation in the defense of the house and in attacks on enemies. A son may accompany his father on a raid as early as the age of six, but it is more common for this to happen when he is nine or older.

884 [825] When a boy reaches the age of about sixteen, he formally undertakes to establish his adult status by going into the forest, killing a tree sloth, and making a *tsantsa* of its head (for the supernatural reasons, see pp. 043-49). Then two *tsantsa* feasts of celebration are given by the father or other older male relative in which all the ritual precautions of the human head *tsantsa* celebration are observed, although the feasting is not as lavish.

884 292 • 301 [239] [721] With the second feast, the transition of the head-taker into adult life is implicitly recognized, and he is now entitled to wear the *etsemat*, the basic headpiece of Jivaro men, consisting of a long cotton band with a red and yellow toucan feather tassel (see Plates 12-15). The donning of this headband has significant overtones since it is used by men not only to keep their hair in place but also in war to hang a human head from the shoulder. He may also now carve a

884 [721] round stool for himself, although he usually does not do this until, or unless, he has participated in a regular killing expedition. Finally, the giving of the feasts means that he is en-

[582] titled to get married, but he probably will not actually do this until he is about twenty-one to twenty-three years old.

881 884 A somewhat analogous pair of feasts is given as puberty celebrations for a girl. Both feasts are sponsored by the girl's father, the first being a minor affair of two days' length; the second being given about half a year later, after her family has been able to accumulate enough chickens and

[824] pigs to feed a large number of guests for six or seven days.
[276] The supernatural aspect of this "coming out" celebration
[787]

34:Karner E-4, 5 (1954-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

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12. Man wearing an *etsemat* (woven cotton band with toucan feather tassels), the most common traditional head garb (Río Cangaimi, 1956-57).

11. Profile of the same individual.

/p. 138-A/

34 Mercer E-6, 5 (1916-1969)1973 &D9 Zinaro &D9

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14. Man with *ceremat* and ear sticks. His face painting, of ochres, is purely for beautification. The shirt was obtained through the native trading partnership system (Bas Congoise, 1916-17).

15. Profile of same individual, showing native comb holding his hair and *ceremat* in place.

/p. 136-3/

16 Harner E-6, 9 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

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16. Visitors to an uncompleted house receiving manioc beer prior to engaging in conversation with the host. Guns are always carried on visits and prominently displayed (Río Cangaimi, 1956–57).

[353]

17. Host in typical pose when receiving visitors. Hand is cupped over mouth and shotgun cradled in lap (region between the upper Río Macuma and the upper Río Cangaimi, 1956–57).

/p. 138-C/

34:Harner E-4. 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

684 chere. Ordinarily, the aggrieved party administers the punishment personally while several relatives hold the victim. The slashing is usually done without much care, and sometimes the [836] offender dies, although this result is not intended. In the case of premarital sexual intercourse, the punishment is administered to the girl and her lover by the girl's father. In the [837] case of adultery, a man primarily punishes his wife's lover, and a woman primarily punishes her husband.

684 836 Premarital intercourse is a less serious offense than extramarital. Premarital sexual relations are widespread, and single girls frequently become pregnant. Such affairs usually are looked upon fairly tolerantly by everyone, even by a girl's mother, as long as the girl's father does not discover them in the act. If such a discovery occurs, the father has to punish them in order to avoid becoming the butt of jokes in the neighborhood. The father is expected to slash the scalps of both under such circumstances.

684 837 When a man learns that another has had sexual relations with his wife, he has the right to cut her lover's scalp whether he discovered him in the act or not. Unlike the [593] punishment for murder, this cutting is usually administered [602] immediately by the aggrieved party, accompanied by several [605] of his kinsmen, normally brothers, parallel or cross-cousins, or his father. If the adulterer flees to a distant neighborhood or otherwise prevents them from punishing him, then the aggrieved party may, in his anger, kill the father of the adulterer, or, if he is not living, a brother or cousin (parallel or cross).

Even if the punishers are successful in their slashing of the offender's forehead or scalp, they and their close relatives usually remain angry with the family of the offender and re- • [301] fuse to speak to them. After about two years, the offender is [435] also expected to pay the husband a toucan feather headband

34 Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

of the *tsenampi* type (worth approximately one shotgun) and strings of beads. This formally terminates the matter.

Seduction of one's wife by one's brother usually does not seem to be considered quite as grave an offense as ordinary adultery. It still warrants a slashing of the offender's head, but the cutting sometimes is done with just a toucan beak instead of a machete. An offender who is a brother of the husband never has to pay anything in addition.

In cases where the husband discovers the offense at the moment of commission, his anger affects the degree of variability from the norm in the actual manner of punishment. Thus sometimes the husband may kill the offender or mutilate the genitalia of the woman. Ordinarily, however, the wife is not punished, particularly when she is not caught in the act and when she is the one who informs the husband of the incident.

Rape is not recognized as such and informants could recall no case of a woman violently resisting sexual intercourse. They said that a man would never commit such an act if the woman resisted, because she would tell her family and they would then punish him. Also, it seems that both men and women tend to regard adultery as a spicy diversion, whose attraction seems to be sufficient to make rape unnecessary.

A woman has the right to punish a husband guilty of adultery. If she actually discovers him in the act, she is expected to slash his scalp with a machete. She rarely attacks the other woman. The husband thus slashed goes to live at the house of his father, or of an avuncular relative called father, or of a brother. Usually after about a month, his wife sends him the message that if he wants to return to her, he should do so immediately or she will cut his head again. If

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

727 ney, reached their home neighborhood. However, most wife-
583 seizing among the Jívaro is intra-, rather than inter-tribal in form, and is often justified on the basis of supposed levirate rights and romantic involvement.

727 Although obtaining heads is the primary object of the expedition, the successful attackers also loot the houses of such valuables as blowguns, dart poison, dogs, beads, machetes, steel axes, featherwork, and other ornaments.

Tsantsa *Celebrations*

727 As they retreat homeward, the head-takers (*tsaŋram*)
765 shrink the skins peeled from the heads. Since the withdrawal
778 from the enemy region is made with haste, in order to avoid being overtaken by an avenging group of Achuara, the preparation of the head skins is done intermittently during the infrequent stops on the return.

The process of preparing the *tsantsa* involves a number of steps. With the aid of a machete or steel knife, the victim's skin is peeled back from the uppermost part of his chest, shoulders and back, and the head and neck are cut off as close
[301] as possible to the collarbone. The killer removes his own woven headband or *etsemat* and passes it through the mouth and neck of the head and ties it over his shoulder to facilitate
[824] his rapid retreat from the victim's neighborhood. If he has no *etsemat*, he may use a section of *činčipi* vine instead.

Eventually, the head-taker and his companions reach a spot beside a river where they had cached one or more pottery
[776] cooking jars and food dishes. Here he makes a slit up the rear
[782] of the head, carefully cuts the skin from the skull, and throws the latter into the river "as a gift for *paŋi*," the anaconda. The skin is boiled in plain water (there are no "secret" vegetal

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574 765 796 occasion would cause him to lose, rather than to gain, prestige. Guests at the feasts usually number up to about 125–150 persons, and mainly come from the local neighborhoods. Since these last two feasts, totaling eleven days of unremitted hospitality, must be supplied from the same harvest, often little food remains in the gardens at the end of the celebrations. Not uncommonly, the host and his family are forced onto a relatively meager diet for some months thereafter until the gardens can recover from their near-exhaustion. Sometimes such a large amount of the gardens' supply of manioc is consumed that the host is unable to follow the second feast with the third. There is no stigma attached to this, but it means that the *tsantsa* never undergoes its final modification.

765 532 [796] [283] When, and if, all three feasts have been given, the chonta pins and palm-fiber string are removed from the mouth of the *tsantsa* and replaced with long white cotton strings (see Plate 21). The reason given for not using cotton strings during the shrinking stage is that they would have burned. The strings, two to each of the three lip holes, are intertwined near the mouth and dangle below as much as a yard, transected by three horizontal red bands of achiote paint. Often miniature ear ornaments of red and yellow toucan breast feathers are also hung from the ears at this time, the most correctly made examples having three such pendants from each lobe. In this finished form, the *tsantsa* may be kept as a decorative keepsake in the house for years. It may be worn by the head-taker on solitary, meditative walks in the forest, or in social dances at his house, and, if not eventually traded to the whites, it may finally be buried with him.[6]

[353] [301] [595] [439] [764]

796 571 554 765 The primary purpose of the *tsantsa* feast, from the Jivaro point of view, is not supernatural, although that is recognized by them as a secondary purpose; but is to acquire prestige, friendship, and obligations through being recognized as

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more in defending houses against attack. Sugar cane was the chief antidote against the curare dart poison, and men going on a killing expedition would carry some to suck on if hit by a dart.

Despite the efficiency of the steel tools and their increased supply, the quantity and quality of the artifacts produced through their use does not seem to have particularly changed. In other aspects of work, the machete has replaced the aboriginal bamboo knife for skinning animals and cutting meat, and has almost entirely taken the place of the palm-wood "machete" in clearing gardens of weeds. Steel needles obtained from the West have partially replaced bone ones for sewing and boring. The traditional bone needles, because of their large size, are still preferred for some tasks, especially the making of netted bags. A new minor craft is the fashioning of powder horns from unworked cow horns obtained from trading partners in the west, who secure them from the whites.

The preparation of animal skins for trade has increased considerably in order to acquire steel tools, shotguns, and gunpowder from the frontier Jivaro trading partners. Cordage manufacture remains unchanged, but the local production of knotted and knotless netting bags is a new development, learned from the Achuara tribe as a result of the increased peaceful contacts by trading partners.

Western-manufactured clothing, along with trade cloth and glass beads, has been adopted gradually by men and women as a result of the development of the trading partnership system. The increased trade has also resulted in the acquisition of Achuara-woven cotton kilts. The acquisition of both Western and Achuara items of dress has greatly contributed to a decline in the home weaving of garments by Jivaro. Bark clothing, viewed as a sign of poverty, has be-

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178 291 439 287 come less common than in former times, this change also being attributed to the growing supply of clothing and cloth obtained through trading partners.

178 291 301 237 439 Feather headdresses and bird skins are prepared in larger quantities than in previous decades, a trend ascribed to the increasing demand for these items for trade to the frontier Jívaro in exchange for firearms and machetes. Featherwork of Achuara origin is also more plentiful, and some of it is traded on to the frontier Jívaro in the west.

178 105 In summation, it can be said that the technological introductions, especially steel cutting tools and firearms, have become the most desired valuables among the interior Jívaro because of their great efficiency compared to the aboriginal equivalents. They have been put to the same basic exchange uses as traditional Jívaro valuables such as featherwork, i.e., they have been used as gifts to acquire services and reinforce obligations. However, the great demand for these new, highly valued goods has made them more significant instruments for attaining social ends, and the creative changes which have occurred in the culture following these introductions appear to be primarily connected to the acquisition, accumulation and distribution of the new items as valuables. Such developments have included the rise of intra- and inter-tribal trading partnerships, the growth in numbers of shamans, and the creation of intra- and inter-tribal shaman hierarchies. Through these developments, the technological introductions also may have indirectly contributed to the decline in inter-tribal warfare and to the reported increase in intra-tribal witchcraft and feuding. The total effect of the new technology on food production seems quite uncertain, with wild-plant gathering, pig-raising, and agriculture apparently showing declines, the latter two since at least about 1925.